

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAM-01 TRSE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01

EB-07 DHA-02 SCCT-01 /065 W  
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O R 061716Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6296

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 751

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5209

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SP

SUBJECT: CRISIS IN NAMING A CABINET

REF: MADRID 5167, MADRID 5176, MADRID 5177, MADRID 5180

1. THE EVENTS OF LAST NIGHT AND THIS MORNING HAVE  
BROUGHT ABOUT SOMETHING OF A CRISIS IN THE NAMING OF A  
CABINET. THE ADVANTAGES OF UTMOST SURPRISE AND SECRECY  
IN DUMPING ARIAS AND NAMING A NEW PRIME MINISTER OF THE  
KING'S LIKING HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME DISADVANTAGES IN PUTTING  
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TOGETHER A CABINET, SO THAT THE OPERATION LOST SEAWAY.

2. THE STORIES, GIVEN SOME CURRENCY IN THE PRESS AND AMONG SPANISH POLITICAL SECTORS, THAT THE OPERATION (LED BY FERNANDEZ MIRANDA) WAS DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT A RETURN TO POWER OF THE OPUS DEI TECHNOCRATS ARE NOT TRUE. SUAREZ FOUND IT NECESSARY TO DENY THIS TO THE PRESS, AND A SOURCE WHO HAD JUST SPOKEN WITH SUAREZ CALLED US LAST NIGHT TO SAY THAT SUAREZ HAD TOLD HIM HE WOULD NOT NAME ONE OPUS DEI FIGURE TO THE CABINET, BUT RATHER IN FACT WAS TRYING TO BRING MODERATE OPPOSITION (NON-PLATA-JUNTA) FIGURES INTO A BROADER BASED GOVERNMENT. (NEITHER SUAREZ NOR HIS CLOSEST CONFIDANT, THE CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY OSORIO, HAVE ANY PARTICULAR LIKING FOR THE OPUS, THOUGH FIGURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE OPUS MIGHT WELL TAKE ON AN ECONOMIC POST OR TWO.)

3. IN FACT, OPPOSITION SOURCES CONFIRM THAT SUAREZ HAS OFFERED POSTS TO MODERATE OPPOSITION FIGURES, PRINCIPALLY TO THE TACITO, AND NON-PLATA-JUNTA CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF THE POPULAR PARTY (E.G. ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA, PIO CABANILLAS, ETC.) AND TO CATALANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT JOSEP PALLACHS. TO DATE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAVE REFUSED, WANTING TO KNOW THE FULL NATURE OF THE CABINET AND PROGRAM. THE DIFFICULTIES CENTER IN GOOD MEASURE AROUND THE FACT THAT THE PRINCIPAL REFORMERS IN THE OLD CABINET, FRAGA, GARRIGUES AND PARTICULARLY AREILZA, HAVE INDICATED THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF STAYING. (ROBLES PIQUER AND MARTIN CAMERO, BOTH ASSOCIATED WITH FRAGA, HAVE ALSO INDICATED THEY ARE LEAVING.) SILVA MUNOZ- THE CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT WHO LED THE BALLOTING IN THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM- WAS REPORTED TO HAVE REFUSED A POST AND TO BE UPSET WITH OSORIO FOR STAYING ON. BUT SILVA TOLD US THIS MORNING HE HAS NOT BEEN OFFERED ANYTHING AND HAD ONLY SPOKEN ONCE WITH SUAREZ ON THE DAY OF THE NOMINATION. SILVA CONFIRMED THAT THE MATTER OF THE CABINET WAS MUCH IN FLUX.

4. IN THIS CONTEXT AREILZA'S POSITION HAS BECOME SALIENT. IF AREILZA- WHO IS SEEN AT HOME AND ABROAD AS A KIND OF GUARANTEE THAT THE REFORM PROCESS WILL

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CONTINUE- PERSISTS IN WHAT HAS BEEN TO DATE A CATEGORICAL REFUSAL, THEN IT MAY BE DIFFICULT THOUGH NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO PUT TOGETHER A BROAD BASED CABINET. IN CONTRAST, FRAGA, BURNED SOMEWHAT BY HIS TENURE IN THE INTERIOR MINISTRY WHERE HE PLEASED NEITHER LEFT NOR RIGHT, IS NOT SO ESSENTIAL. AS WE REPORTED EARLIER, FRAGA'S PEOPLE TOLD US PRIOR TO THE SUAREZ NOMINATION THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT HIM TO BE THE NEW PRIME MINISTER

AND ALL BUT SAID THAT IF HE WERE NOT NUMBER ONE HE WOULD GO OUT OF THE CABINET.

5. AREILZA IS A PROUD AND, RIGHT NOW, HURT MAN, AND HAS MADE CATEGORICAL STATEMENTS THAT HE WILL NOT STAY ON. HE IS BEING CAREFUL OF HIS WORDS, BUT WE JUDGE HIS UPSET COMES PERHAPS LESS AT NOT BEING CHOSEN THAN AT NOT HAVING BEEN TOLD BY THE KING WHAT WAS UP AND BY CORTES PRESIDENT FERNANDEZ MIRANDA'S MASTERMINDING OF THE OPERATION. IT SEEMS HARD TO SQUARE AREILZA'S PRESENT MOOD WITH HIS MONARCHIST, DEMOCRATIC VIEWS, BUT EMOTIONS GET IN THE WAY OF LOGIC. THERE IS AN OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY, THOUGH ONE WE EXCLUDE AS THINGS STAND, THAT AS HIS ANGER WEARS OFF HE COULD AGREE TO RETURN IF THE KING AND HIS FATHER, DON JUAN, WORKED ON HIM.

6. NO ONE IS INDISPENSIBLE. CABINET CRISES HAVE A WAY OF RUNNING THEIR COURSE, AND NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE. THE DANGER HERE IS THAT SUAREZ WILL BE FORCED TO FALL BACK ON OLD WAR HORSES OR UNKNOWN, GIVING HIS NEW CABINET A JERRY-BUILT CHARACTER THAT WOULD NOT AUGER WELL FOR ITS STAYING POWER. SUAREZ PERHAPS MADE A MISTAKE IN UTILIZING GARCIA LOPEZ OF THE MINI-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PSDE AS HIS PRINCIPAL POINT OF DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION. GARCIA LOPEZ HAS LONG-STANDING OPPOSITION CREDENTIALS, AND HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH MILITARY FIGURES, INCLUDING VEGA AND GUTIERREZ MELLADO ARE USEFUL. NONETHELESS, HE IS DISLIKED BY A NUMBER OF OTHER OPPOSITION FIGURES.

7. ALL THINGS BEING EQUAL, IT WOULD BE BEST TO ANNOUNCE A CABINET QUICKLY, BUT THE DAY'S DIFFICULTIES- AND THE APPARENT NEED FOR A PERIOD OF REFLECTION AND NEGOTIATION- ARGUE FOR DELAY OF A DAY OR SO. SUAREZ SPEAKS TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NATION TONIGHT AT 9:30 PM MADRID TIME. ASSUMING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CABINET ARE STILL IN ABEYANCE, THE MODERATE GROUPS WILL SCAN HIS SPEECH FOR EVIDENCE OF THE DIRECTION HE WILL TAKE. SPECULATION HAS IT THAT HE MAY ANNOUNCE AN AMNESTY FOR THE REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS (NOT REPEAT NOT TERRORISTS) WHICH WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY THOSE HE IS COURTING FOR THE CABINET, BUT THIS MAY BE PREMATURE. STABLER

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